MOTION ON THE DEMISE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN.

President: The time for questions having lapsed, we will pass on to the next item.

Before passing to the next item in the business it is my duty to place before this House a resolution designed to convey to His Highness the present Maharaja of Cochin, to the Cochin Government and to the people of Cochin, our feelings of deep sympathy and sorrow in regard to the passing away of the late Maharaja of Cochin who, amongst other things, was a true and trusted friend of Travancore and their Government and who through his Government and personally was always co-operating fully in all the joint endeavours of the two States. He was a fine type of Ruler and his loss is a great loss not only to Cochin but to India as a whole. I trust we shall carry the resolution in the usual manner standing and that I shall be empowered to convey that resolution to Cochin.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously, all standing.

THE DEWAN-PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Fellow Members of the Sri Chitra State Council,

I now proceed to place before this House a Message from His Highness the Maharaja and also to address some remarks to this honourable House on certain other matters of immediate importance. The Message though it is the same as the one that I placed before the other House is being delivered to this House also after the desire of His Highness and His Highness' Government to treat this House as occupying the same position as the other House and as entitled to the fullest elucidation of Government's proposals and ideals. The Message that I am delivering on behalf of His Highness at this moment—and I give it the primacy because after finishing that Message I shall have to deal with certain other matters in the course of my speech—is embodied in the Press Communique which was issued regarding constitutional reforms. I have received in this connection a letter from Mr. K. S. Joseph to the President of the Sri Chitra State Council which reads:

> "I hereby ask for leave to move for an adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, *viz.*, the proposals placed by Government before the Sovereign for the Proclamation of a new Constitution Act, as envisaged in the Government Press Communique dated 3-6-1121.

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STATEMENT.

> It is absolutely necessary that the Sovereign is advised of the desire of the people of Travancore, with reference to the proposals of Government for framing a New Constitution act for the State. Therefore, before the Sovereign affixes the 'Sign Manual' to such an Act, the elected representatives of the people should make their views and advise available for the consideration of the Sovereign."

This is entirely out of order, for reasons that I have already explained elsewhere. In the first place there is no question of proposals placed by Government before the Sovereign. The Sovereign himself has come to certain definite and final decisions as to the extent to which he will give up his rights and prerogatives and inaugurate a new constitution for Travancore and I am here to convey that Message of the Sovereign to this House. It is not a proposal by Government. The Government Communique itself makes it absolutely clear that it is not put up for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. After the preliminary portion, the Communique says :-

> 'His Highness intends to inaugurate constitutional arrangements whose main features will be as follows.....'

It is a final decision by His Highness the Maharaja and subject to the statutory framing of the features indicated in the Communique in appropriate and legal form, these features form the new constitution for the State. That being so, it is a matter on which, according to our rules, a resolution cannot be brought up. A resolution cannot be moved for the reason that the provisions of the Act of 1932 and the Rules made thereunder cannot possibly be discussed directly or indirectly by means of a resolution. The constitution envisaged in the Communique repeals and abrogates this Act and therefore it affects this Act most vitally and decisively. Therefore, purely as a lawyer, much as I would have liked a full and free discussion in this House and elsewhere, that is not possible under the law. Some person in the *Madras Mail* very specially pointed out—no other paper did—only the *Madras Mail* did it and probably, from its point of view, rightly pointed out—that if there had been a vote of the Assembly on the constitution that vote would have been against Government. That is what the Madras paper has stated based on what its correspondent might have reported. That is not correct because obviously the constitution of the Assembly being what it is the proposition would have been definitely approved of. But that is immaterial.

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[President.]

There is no doubt that the public at large are perfectly entitled to discuss this communique threadbare. Members of this House not acting as members of this House but just going outside this Chamber are perfectly entitled to discuss it. But we are working under a particular Act and under that Act the following is the rule:

> "It shall not be lawful for the Council or the Assembly to consider or enact any measure affecting the provisions of the Act or the rules made thereunder..... ....."

That is Section 17 of the Act. Then dealing with resolutions, it is made equally clear that there can be no resolution on a matter covered by Section 17. It is also made clear beyond doubt that it is not open to the Dewan or to the Government to allow any discussion on this matter. The wording in the rule is as follows:

> "It *shall not be permissible* to the President or the Government to give consent to the moving of any motion in regard to any of the subjects in regard to which a resolution cannot be moved, and....."

Therefore, on any matter on which a resolution cannot be moved, even if the Dewan or the Government or anybody wants that discussion to take place, it is illegal to allow such discussion. I may read that Section again:

> "It shall not be permissible to the President or the Government to give consent to the moving of any motion in regard to any of the subjects in regard to which a resolution cannot be moved....."

So a resolution cannot be moved in regard to any matter coming within Section 17 of the Act. The amendment of the constitution involving the abrogation of the present Act is one of the matters which cannot be dealt with. Therefore a resolution cannot be moved. If a resolution cannot be moved a discussion cannot be allowed on the floor of the House. In another place I had admitted without adverting to this aspect of the matter, some resolutions, four of them in favour of the constitution and two against it. Although I had admitted all of them, when later this definite provision of the Statute was placed before me, it was not permissible for me to allow discussion. I ruled them out and from that point of view I rule this motion for adjournment out of order.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: May I know whether I can make a statement at the end of the President's remarks, regarding the resolution?

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President: You cannot. According to rules it is not permissible for me to allow discussion. And any statement made in regard to the resolutions will again come within the mischief of that rule. The statement attached to the adjournment motion refers to certain proposals of Government. As I have already indicated, no proposals have been placed before the Sovereign for the promulgation of the new constitution.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: It is exactly to explain that statement I ask permission.

President: Very well. Now I proceed to deliver the Message of His Highness. I am placing the Message before the House by way of communication from His Highness fully realising that it is not permissible to this House to debate upon or to move any motions regarding this matter. Why then, it might be asked, am I mentioning it? I have been charged by His Highness to communicate his intentions to this House, and that is what I am now doing. In so doing I shall explain the position. The first point that arises under this constitution is that there will be a Lower House elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. That is a step which I make bold to say has not been taken or even contemplated in British India. But His Highness has evidently been animated by the idea that if adult suffrage is possible anywhere, it is possible in Travancore on account of the character of its inhabitants and the degree of literacy and education attained by those inhabitants. I have also no doubt that thinking portions of the population throughout the State and beyond will concur in that view. That is also a sign of the complete trust of His Highness in the people at large of the State. Now that is not alone. Side by side with the introduction of universal adult suffrage throughout the State is also the abolition of what is called the official or the nominated block; there will be no nominations at all to the Lower House or to the Upper House. Not only so, but the President and the Deputy President of the one House and the other House will not be chosen by Government but elected by the members of the respective Houses. Pausing at this stage for a moment, as regards the Lower House certain apprehensions have been expressed which are in my humble opinion not properly argued out, or properly conceived. One of the difficulties pointed out is the question of certain minorities. It will be remembered that under the present constitution three minority communities have been dealt with. Those three are the Latin Christians, the Muslims and the Ezhavas. The object underlying this reform—and I may restate and emphasise that very clearly—is that in Travancore at all

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events, wherever else it is possible or not possible, politics and religion should be completely divorced from each other. The exercise of political and economic rights and the enforcement of social rights and obligations should be that of the people at large subject to the protection of certain minority rights to which I shall advert presently. Feeling like that, it is the duty of Government to see that no religious community, no economic communities no social community which is specially and definitely organised suffers from the lack of expression of its views.

The underlying idea of this reform, as indeed of any political reform, should be and cannot but be a majority rule. That is inevitable. Under any system of what is called democracy, if there is to be a Government by the people for the people, the people can only be construed as meaning the majority of the people. Only, there must be sufficient safeguards to prevent that majority utilising or misusing the majority privileges for the purpose of victimising or oppressing any particular minority. Subject to that definite statement, there is no question that democracy involves majority rule. If it involves majority rule, the only thing that the minorities can ask for is that they should have an opportunity to place their point of view before the majority and to see that both sides of the question are dealt with before a final decision is taken Judged from that point of view, where do we stand As has been outlined already, and as is indeed inevitable just now, a Lower House will have to be constituted, which will, according to certain decisions that will be taken, comprise 150 or 200 persons. In order to allow of all these minorities to come in by the method of election and not by the method of nomination, it has been asked 'how is that to be done?' I will deal with the communities step by step. I do not deal with every community. There are certain communities which are at present minority communities and which have no chance of representation. Take all the backward communities. If they can organise themselves, as I trust they will, and as I shall indicate, they will have a chance to come in by election. Excepting by nomination, they will have no chance to come in not only here but anywhere else in India or in the world, if the majority is not prevented from swamping. Therefore, in the present system, there can be no constituency as such for them, and there is not. The only three communities in respect of which provision has been made, are communities with a comparatively big population, which, notwithstanding their number, felt that they could not get adequate representation. The foremost amongst these are the Ezhavas. The Ezhava community is the largest separate community in the State. It has got about ten lakhs

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of population. If you divide the Christians according to their sub-divisions none of the Christian sub-divisions would be able to equal the Ezhava community in number. If all of the sub-divisions are lumped together, they may outnumber the Ezhava community. The Ezhavas are, at all events, the largest in number among the Hindu communities. Certain specific safeguards were given to them because they thought that, by virtue of their economic disability, by virtue of the social disability which they were labouring under, till the Temple Entry Proclamation, they could not get their proper share in the Government of the State. Therefore a certain reservation has been made for them. The only demand that the Ezhava community has made till now is that that reservation will not do and that they should have adult suffrage. There are representatives of the Ezhava community here and they will contradict me if I am wrong, when I say that there has not been a single demand on behalf of the Ezhava community for anything in relation to their future excepting the grant of adult suffrage. Now that has been granted. So the question of the Ezhava community can be put on one side for the moment.

We next come to the Muslim community, and the Latin Christian community. Take the Latin Christians first. We know exactly where they are situate. I give an undertaking—and I can give that undertaking, because of the gracious procedure of His Highness in extending my term for five years so that I may carry through this reform—that proportionately the Latin Christian community will get much more representation in the new legislature than they have at the present time. It can be done in a number of ways. I shall indicate one of these. Constituencies have to be delimited. We know very well that, proceeding from the sea inland along the coast, over a large portion of Travancore, if the constituencies are within one mile of the sea in breadth, the bulk of the population will be Latin Catholics. If the boundary is pushed three miles within the sea, the bulk may not be Latin Christians but somebody else. If, therefore, constituencies are created on the basis of the actual habitat or the dwelling places of these Latin Catholic communities and these constituencies are made long and not wide, it is absolutely certain that a larger number of electorates will be formed for election by the Latin Catholics of Latin Catholics, that is, if they choose to elect their own men. I have absolutely no hesitation in giving the assurance that arrangements will be so made with the Franchise Commission that will come into existence, that a community like the Latin Catholic community which though large in number is somewhat backward in education notwithstanding the education policy pursued both by the

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State and by other organisations till now, will still have the right, if they so choose, to elect their own men, so that they will be in a majority in those constituencies.

Now, with regard to the Muslims also, the case is not dissimilar. And as a matter of fact, it is easier. In the first place, it goes without saying that a great deal of the retail trade and a great deal more of the wholesale trade of this country is in the hands of the Muslims. It is not impossible to conceive of such a framing of the constituencies for the Upper House that Muslims will come in in large numbers there. But even in regard to the Lower House the position will be like this. In Alleppey, the Mohammedans live in certain quarters. If Alleppey, as a whole, is regarded as a constituency, perhaps there might be difficulty for the Muslims coming to their own, and of vindicating their position. But if Alleppey is divided into three or four constituencies, it is absolutely certain that Muslims are bound to come up at least in certain localities. The same thing can be said of Thuckalai and even of Trivandrum. There are many other such places which I can mention. It can be definitely stated on behalf of the Government that in regard to Latin Catholics and Muslims, they will see to it that they actually get the chance of returning a larger number of representatives than they have been able hitherto, or that they have been asking for. Quite naturally, after this reform was announced, a large number of meetings has been held where they have said that weightages should be allowed, and that they should be given minority representation and double the number of seats that they have at present. I do not blame those who agitate in that manner. If they do not agitate in that manner, naturally the British Indian case would be weakened. The Muslims in British India have made up their minds to agitate, not for a number proportionate to their population but much larger than their population. Otherwise they cannot get one-third of their present number. In the Madras legislature and in the Bombay legislature, although their population is only about 10 or 12 per cent. the number of their seats is 30 per cent. Therefore, if honourable members of the Muslim community apprehend that by giving their consent, tacit or implicit, to this reform, they will be handicapping their co-religionists in British India, or the Quaid-e-Azam in the attempts that he is making for a new constitution in India and in making Pakistan, they are perfectly entitled to do so. And I have told my Muslim friends although we do not propose to change our constitution, we shall fully honour their point of view and shall take it for granted that they will always have a number of public meetings opposing us vehemently. If they do

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not do that, I would be surprised. But the real cause of nervousness is elsewhere. The Mohammedans of Travancore have never asked for weightages. From 1888 on we have had Muslim members sitting in the Council who have never asked for weightages or for any special arrangements. They have been perfectly happy about the arrangements, and until this reform was announced, there was no apprehension in their minds. They are afraid—about the rights and wrongs of that fear I cannot say anything—that some British Indian province may take a lesson from us and start universal suffrage and get rid of weightages and representations in the Legislature and in the Executive. But of that we cannot be concerned. As I said, this Government will take full note of the attitude of the Muslim community in India as a whole and the necessity for the Muslim community to reiterate their particular demands however appropriate or inappropriate they may be to this particular State. All that I say is, that though their apprehensions may be legitimate or well-grounded from their own point of view, they will certainly not be well-based because this Government are giving a definite undertaking that they will proportionately be getting even a larger number of the seats in the new Legislature than they have been getting at present. That finishes the main minorities.

But there are other minorities like Sambavars, Nadars, Maravars and so forth. How are they to be treated? Under no system of territorial electorate can they come in, because they are spread out in small numbers and are mainly agricultural labourers. It is quite conceivable, that in the Upper House, agricultural labour will get represented. I go further. If agricultural labour in certain localities is given a chance of organising itself, separately, then agricultural labour in the House will be well represented. There are also many other labourers, the handloom weavers, for instance. Handloom weaving may be made into a separate constituency. The object of Government therefore, is to make the two Houses, co-equal in power. Otherwise it is not possible, under any system of adult franchise, to provide for the underdog. Knowing the methods of electioneering as many of us do, it is the politican, it is the person with a particular slogan, or war-cry or watch-word or programme that will get the votes under adult suffrage. We see that day after day. Anybody who puts forward the Congress flag is bound to succeed. There can be nobody standing against it. He forfeits his deposit. The Congress hierarchy may choose a Muslim or a scheduled caste person. But the case of Dr. Ambedkar or Mr. Jinnah is, they choose those who are convenient for them. The whole idea of what may be called adult suffrage is nullified under it. And under no system of

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suffrage can all minorities get a chance by election because the agricultural labourer, the coolie in the field, and the handloom weaver will never get a chance, unless he gets up and—as some lawyers do in giving up their profession and taking to trade unionism—throws up his profession and takes to politics. That is why it has been considered necessary, and although I have no right to say so, the wisest possible provision is to have an Upper House of a co-equal character. The Upper House, it has been very happily described, is a home of reaction. It is just the opposite. There may be some reaction in the Lower House in view of the adult suffrage or some kind of hunting after a political order. The Upper House will not be like that. It will be more democratic. Another undertaking has been given and that is an undertaking which must be borne in mind, that the interests of labour will be exactly equal to the interests of capital in the Upper House—Labour, not only industrial labour, but having regard to the difficulties and the differences in Travancore, cashewnut labour, coir labour, cocoanut labour, agricultural labour, industrial labour, small cottage industries, hand-loom weaving—all these will be separately provided for, and organised labour will be given a chance to be represented in the Upper House. Capital, whether it is agricultural capital, the land lords interests, the *Jenmies* interests, the *Edavagas* interests, the big industrialists' interests, all these will have to be represented. But how will they be represented? By calling them to form organisations or groups and registering themselves. Just as the Chambers of Commerce are doing today just as other organisations are doing today, the coir workers will have to organise themselves into associations and they will be regarded as an electorate for the purpose of electing one or two members to the Upper House. In that manner it is proposed that labour,—agricultural, industrial, artisan—and capital will be equally served by the Upper House.

In this connection, and as a specimen of what I referred to, I shall place on the table of the House a cutting from a Muslim paper called the "Mysorean."

> "The Dewan of Travancore is a Hindu Sabhite to the core, while other Sabha leaders being powerless only to bark at Muslims, Sir C. P. knows how to bite also. Very recently he framed a law against the Christians. Now he has come out with his anti-Muslim Reforms..... The system of joint electorate was in vogue in British India as well as in Mysore. But it was proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslims were not elected in proportion even to their population basis. The few that were elected were only tools in the hands of the Hindus..... Travancore under C. P. has revived their hopes."

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So it will be seen how from Mysore and elsewhere the point arises with special advertence to the conditions in British India. The Upper House, according to my contention or submission, will not be a home of reaction but will be a kind of compendium of the main occupations—industries and trades and professions of the country, not only lawyers and doctors, not only the learned professions like teachers and others but labour, capital, industry—all of which will be provided for in the Upper House.

Then we come to the actual administration itself. Administration will be by committees. Much has been said about responsible Government. Elsewhere I have stated that responsible Government in the British sense is a thing which Travancore will not introduce. Not only so but in every place to which I go and on every occasion, as for instance, in meeting the Parliamentary Delegation, it will be my endeavour to try to persuade British India not to have responsible Government in the British Parliamentary sense. That is a matter on which I feel so strongly. At the risk of taking some little time I must give the reasons why. Experience of responsible Government in that sense, truncated though it was under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, made it clear that no Minister could really have time to study a subject or carry out a programme if he is constantly engaged in finding out whether he is going to be a Minister tomorrow or the day after. There are always groups—combinations—formed. Today A, B and C are the followers of myself as Minister. Somebody else, Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, takes hold of A and B, gives some inducement to A and B to come away from my party and join his party. Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar's party then moves a motion of no confidence. The minister is constantly trying to disengage A and B from Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar and get them back. Such instances have been known in Bombay. It is notorious in Sind, known in the North-Western Frontier Province, known in the Punjab, known in Bengal. In a neighbouring State, it is vaguely rumoured that such a phenomenon is not wholly beyond the range of probability or actuality. The whole point is that the Executive should have some continuity of existence so that it may plan for the future without the fear of its being upset by joint encounters and fragmentary combinations. That being so, the question of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature in that sense does not exist. But on the other hand, there is another aspect of the matter. The Government of the country hereafter will be by committees of the Legislature. What do I mean? Not sufficient advertence has been paid to that portion of the communique. Take the subject of finance or public works. Hereafter the bringing of the Budget to the notice of the House will be by the Financial Secretary or the finance authorities as the mouthpiece of Government. It will be

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said that such and such is the Budget which is recommended to be passed. Immediately the two Houses of the Legislature will appoint committees. They will no longer be Advisory Committees. They will be executive and governing committees. Let us say that there are three persons appointed by the Lower House and two by the Upper House. These five will sit down with the Financial Secretary and go through every item of the Budget. It is only what has been agreed upon between the Financial Secretary and that Committee that will become the Budget and when that Budget is presented to the House, the Financial Secretary will only act as an expert adviser. The piloting of the Budget will be by the Committee. There will be no nominated President to guide the deliberations. There will be no officers to vote. It is open to the House to send for any particular officer. Supposing it is the Medical grant. They can send for the Surgeon-General and ask "how many hospitals do you want? Why do you want them?" But the responsibility of having the hospitals will be on the Committee and finally on the Legislature. Therefore it will be seen that the piloting work will be that of the Committee. I do not want to keep that away from this House, because it will be found immediately that the duties of the Legislature will be very different from what they are now. There will be no Government to attack. There will be no Government policy to vindicate. The Assembly will divide into groups according to professions, *viz.* capital versus labour, small land holders versus large land holders, etc. Therefore it will be on a social and economic cleavage that the debates will take place. In other words, the Government will be with the aid of the permanent executive but essentially guided by the Committees.

Then it is said, what about the veto? In such a widespread democratic move, *viz.*, where committees are no longer advisory but governing committees, it is impossible to conceive, at least in the initial stages, of any constitution without that right of veto over and above the rights and prerogatives of His Highness. When therefore it is understood that the Government of the country will be by the committees of the Legislature subject to veto, much of the objection that is now being voiced will probably not be articulate hereafter.

In the end, all that I have to say in regard to this matter is that over and above these safeguards, there will be a judiciary. I do not wish to go further into the rights of the Executive because it depends upon this, that if a Dewan or anybody goes on vetoing and the Legislature goes on imposing its will on the people, it will

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not be long before the Dewan knows where he should be. For instance, the President of the United States of America about 7 years ago vetoed the resolutions of the Congress 94 times a year, but that did not make it any the less democratic because what he did was, merely to ask them to reconsider the matter. The right of veto therefore theoretically and really exists but after the first few vetoes the President's rights go down. It may come here later on. It must be remembered that this is a very large extension. We are jumping from practically no power to considerable power. I wish to make it perfectly clear that in addition to these safeguards there will be a Supreme Court which will act like the Supreme Court of the United States and be the custodian and the exponent and the interpreter of the constitution. When this is all remembered let us come back to a discussion of the fundamentals. Here in this State His Highness, without any agitation, without any demand from the people, in 1888 started the first Legislative Council. Later on, further reforms were made. In 1932, the present Highness started the present Legislature in its career, that again, essentially without any demand or widespread agitation. I can go further and say that beyond vague whispers about adult suffrage and about various other matters, there has been no agitation in the State except to one extent, *viz.*, Responsible Government on the Westminster model. Apart from that there has been no agitation. His Highness on his own initiative and without having been forced to do so by an agitation, has made up his mind that the time has come when he might trust his people sufficiently to promulgate this quantum of responsibility and rights on his people. That is the utmost to which he can go according to his discretion at the present moment. I may say at once and it will save much trouble, that it is final, irrevocable and decisive so that there is no point in persons wasting money on telegrams or letters. His Highness, after careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that this is the constitution which he will promulgate and that is the only constitution which he will promulgate. That being so, it may be regarded as final. The only question is, it is hoped, on behalf of those who have the right to speak for the Government that such a large measure of reform intrinsically democratic has never been conceived of even in British India. What His Highness has graciously promised his subject is, I beg to submit, larger than what British India is likely to get having regard to the troubles which are ahead of them in view of the pronouncements of great political leaders on the one side and the other. I am therefore placing this message before this House.

Now I may refer to one or two other matters before I conclude. There is a very serious matter which is confronting the whole

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world. It may be said with some confidence that at the present moment Travancore is the only place in India which is not suffering from any imminent prospect of famine. This is the only place where His Excellency the Viceroy does not come, for reasons that he has been telling everywhere that Travancore can take care of her food position and that for the time being at least we do not need external help. But the situation cannot be said to be very encouraging. This morning it was stated in the United Nations Organisation that 140 million people are between life and death in Europe and that Europe is on the verge of a wheat famine. The time has come when these people will have to look to other cereals for food and it has been announced by the President of the United States that wheat should not be converted into alcohol. Wheat should no more be used as fodder for cattle hereafter. The bread ration has been reduced in England. His Excellency the Viceroy is now touring through Madras and Mysore and seeing portions of Bombay which are in the grip of famine already. The position in Ceylon is even more serious. So serious is it that the Government of India have asked us to give some loan of our surplus rice to Ceylon. We have given it on the strict condition that it should be returned in the form of rice and they as well as the Government of India have given that undertaking. Similarly, the Government of Mysore have asked for a loan. We have given them 12,000 tons. We have supplied to the Government of Madras, on account of their dire necessity, there again, under the distinct promise that they will return that quantity in the course of the next few months as rice. We have had transactions to the extent of twenty-five crores in the matter of food. Although people like Mr. Sivaswamy of the Servants of India Society have tried to demonstrate deliberately that conditions in Travancore approached the verge of famine, I should say that, on the whole, the food position here is satisfactory. Much the same cannot be said in the case of Mysore or Madras at this moment. There is, however, one thing that I must say and that is that we should not be optimistic. What happened suddenly in Mysore or in Madras may happen tomorrow to us. What happened there was that at the source of the Cauvery river there was no rain. In the Mettur Dam water is practically at sill level. The whole tract of the Madras Presidency, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, has no water and therefore a famine has come. The same thing has happened in Cocanada. Cyclone has finished three of the richest districts of the Andhra province. We do not know what will happen in nature any day and therefore it is that we have made up our minds to keep the ration of 12 oz. Eighty five thousand tons of rice are due

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to us from Sind. The supply has already started. Fortunately, that rice is being supplied into Travancore ports, into Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum, so that we can rush that rice to necessary places. Twenty thousand tons are due from Tanjore. That might take some time. We have stores of about two crores worth of grain, which is roughly three months' stock and with the quantities which are coming in we will probably have five to six months stock. That stock can be best husbanded by preventing hoarding, profiteering or black marketing. Because the price of rice in the Presidency of Madras is going to soar very high unless the Madras Government take very strict measures, there will be very great temptation for people to smuggle rice from Travancore to the Madras Presidency or beyond. That has, at all costs, to be prevented. That is the first thing. The second aspect is that we must be content with the 12 oz. The third thing is that we must keep up our procurement scheme and those conditions which are necessary to regulate the supply of food materials.

There is another matter which has also to be borne in mind. Ceylon, Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces, have all asked for tapioca from Travancore. They have now stated that they should start eating tapioca. There is at present no chance for some of these areas except to eat millets and tapioca and therefore it is that I am making this announcement here so that people who have neglected the growing of tapioca may take up that work again. There is a great future in that business. Apart from this particular contingency of famine in Mysore and Madras, the starch industry needs a lot of tapioca. I would therefore commend to the tapioca owners the importance and utility of restarting their tapioca cultivation.

Now, I have just one word to say about this Primary Education. I am very glad to say that for the first time this Government have been approached officially for the purpose of entering into talks about compromise in regard to the Catholic agitation. I do not wish to make my statement more explicit for the reasons that I shall presently give you. Some time ago, two personal friends, intimate personal friends of mine, Sir Maharaj Singh and Mr. Rallia Ram were approached by certain persons from Travancore. It was widely announced in the newspapers that Sir Maharaj Singh would preside over the Catholic Conference. Not unnaturally, having regard to the friendship that has existed for a long time, not only between Maharaj Singh and myself, but between members of his family and myself, he wrote to me about the matter. What he wrote to me was this : "For various reasons which I shall explain in person, I am unable to attend the Conference in Travancore to which Mr. Varkey of Palai has invited me.....I wonder

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[President]

if you saw the resolution framed by the Council of the All India Catholic Association. Is not some compromise possible on these or similar lines ? In any case, will you kindly agree to receive a deputation if some of us outsiders are to come ?' I said : "With the utmost possible pleasure I am willing to discuss with you or anybody else." But what happened was that he was asked not to come and he has not come ; and the reasons will be made public when I come to know more about the matter. In the meantime, Mr. Rallia Ram asked whether a deputation could be received by the Government. Mr. Rallia Ram is the Secretary of the Joint Committee of the Catholic Union of India and the All-India Council of Indian Christians. The President of that Body is Dewan Bahadur M. Ratnaswami, M. A., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. The Secretary is Mr. Rallia Ram. Last week, it seems people have met him and he has now asked whether a deputation of these associations could be received by the Government. I said : "With the utmost pleasure." 9th and 10th February were fixed for the deputation. Then I got a telegram that the deputation would not come, and that it had been postponed *sine die*, certain telegrams stating "for Heaven's sake do not compromise," having gone to him. That was the purport of the telegrams that went to him. I place this on the floor of the House. He has written to me : "I wired and informed you that we are unable to visit Travancore. We owe you an explanation for the cancellation of the visit.....We have no intention to interfere with the internal management of the State or to cause any embarrassment to the State. At the same time we are grateful to you for your courtesy.....We shall approach you again." I have said : "Any time you could, you will be welcome." Now, it is clear therefore that attempts made to compromise or attempts even made to meet the Head of the Administration were negatived for reasons into which I shall not enter. In the meantime, the Secretary of the Cochin Cocoanut Growers' Association and also the Cochin Central Christian Committee, has written to me on this on the 4th February. He has been keeping away from this agitation, but he is now willing to enter into the possibility of a compromise. I have received a series of letters on this matter and I have also been personally approached with regard to the possibility of a compromise. I have no hesitation in saying that this Government was never averse to the discussion of this matter. But if parties forgetting their duties and obligations, continuously indulge in anti-democratic and anti-governmental propaganda, I should say that that is not approaching the Government along the right line. If telegrams are sent to the Parliamentary Delegation or to the Secretary of State or to the Viceroy

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saying that so and so is anti-Christian, that there is a programme of extermination of Christians, that some people in the State are at it and Christians are externed from their lands, that their properties are being confiscated, that Churches are dislocated, that there is a general feeling of persecution and that this is a part of that persecution—if that is the kind of agitation, that is not the correct approach to the Government. The Government therefore have to say definitely, unequivocally, just as they have stated in the case of the constitutional reform and the Parliamentary Delegation, that the scheme of the Government is final, ultimate and irrevocable. And it is on that basis nevertheless, I say that there is a possibility of compromise. I may mention here that a compromise has already been arrived at with the London Mission Society. If there is one community of Christians in the State who are more wedded to educational problems, who have made a researchful study of Education and who have devoted attention on the right and proper lines than any other, it is the London Mission Society and the C. M. S. Christians of Travancore. The L. M. S. have not found it difficult to arrive at a compromise. There is today a document in writing with the Director of Public Instruction indicating the possibility of a compromise. That compromise has been accepted by the Government. So, the kind of agitation that has been set afoot and has been continued, that the Government is anti-Christian and is for the annihilation of the Christian community, is belied by the fact that at least one important and influential Christian community has now accepted all the principles of the Government in the matter of Education. This Government is under an absolute obligation to educate every boy and girl between the ages 5 and 11, Catholic or non-Catholic, Christian or non-Christian and for this, this Government has to start schools in every locality where there is a minimum population so as to prevent children from being put to the necessity of having to walk more than a mile or two to attend classes. Supposing, there is a school, a Catholic one, in a locality where the Catholic population is 500 and the non-Catholic population is 2,000. If Government do not open a school in that locality for the purpose of covering the needs of the two thousand five hundred they would be abdicating their duty and giving up their right. The Catholics are entitled however to say: "We do not approve of the method in which you educate our people."

(At this stage the clock struck one.)

I hope honourable members will give me about 15 minutes more.

(The House signified their assent).

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[President]

The position is this. Under the Primary Education Act, every parent and every boy is liable to be punished under the law if the boy does not attend the school. If there is only one school, what will happen? It means that a non-Catholic parent and a non-Catholic pupil will be fined or sent to the Jail for not going to the Catholic school. Obviously that cannot be done. The Government must therefore start non-depominational schools in those localities. But the Catholics may say this and are entitled to put forward this point of view, viz., "We do not believe in this system of education. We believe that Catholics should be bred up in the Catholic atmosphere and in the law of the Catholic religion." In fact the Muslims also have said so. "Therefore please do not hinder us from running Catholic institutions for Catholic children. If we run Catholic institutions for Catholic children, you must finance us because we are part of the tax-paying population. We are as much tax-payers as the Hindus or the Muslims. Therefore if we run Catholic institutions for Catholic students we should be entitled to do so, as part of a general educational policy, because we feel conscientiously that your system of secular education is a mistake." Then I think, in such cases the educational cess which is gathered from the Catholics and the non-Catholics together and the general revenues would not be utilised. There are amounts set apart for the encouragement of charitable and religious institutions. From those funds not as much as they are getting at present but probably more than they are getting would be made available to the Catholics if they approach Government from that point of view. But they have never done so. I find that all the Catholics in the primary institutions in the State do not get more than Rs. 3 lakhs. If the Catholics have stated: "we cannot afford to run our institutions with these 3 lakhs," Government would have no hesitation in giving them 4 lakhs. But nobody approached the Government in that manner. Not a single person asked us. But they started doctrines and theories from very many books such as the book of Revelation, No. 666 and quoted the picture of the final anti-Christ. Similarly there are hundred ways in which they can be dealt with. The matter therefore is open to compromise, open to discussion as it was open to discussion with the L. M. S. But there is this thing, viz., the Catholics cannot assert—as they are now trying to—the right to teach the non-catholics. The duty of teaching the non-Catholics is the duty and the right of the State and the State alone can be responsible for such work. Suppose non-Catholics like the Muslims—for instance Mustafa Sahib, has

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got more money than he can spare and proposes to start a Muslim school and says he want the assistance of Government in regard to finance, then his personal financial position will also be looked into. This right can only be given to persons who conscientiously desire to inculcate the truths of their religion to pupils of that community or sub-community. The Catholics may run schools for the Catholic children and they are entitled to do so and appoint Catholic teachers. Of course, if the Primary Education Act comes into force, the Public Service Commission will select the teachers and the number of teachers to be appointed to the Catholic schools will undoubtedly be in proportion to the population of the Catholics in their schools. The Catholics say: "We want in our Catholic schools all the teachers to be Catholics" They are entitled to say so and no Government can object to a religious persuasion. Honestly and definitely feeling like that, the necessary help will be given on three conditions. Firstly, the right of the State to regulate curricula and to fix standards will be kept. Secondly, the various religious persuasions whether L. M. S., C. M. S., Muslims or Catholics will all deal only with their particular communities and teach them in their particular religion and nobody else, because, so far as primary education is concerned, we must have control over the whole of the rest of the population. If the Catholics want to contract out of this, let them do so. We have control over the rest and not a single non-Catholic will be allowed to go to the Catholic school and get any grant in respect of that item. The Catholics in the Catholic schools are entitled to teach Catholicism during part of the day or even the whole day provided the general educational standard is kept up. They have the fullest liberty of teaching their particular tenets and doctrines to pupils of their own community. Such institutions will be very liberally helped by the State and the Government have already announced their intention to do so in the case of L. M. S. I therefore appeal to my friends to forget all that has happened during the last few months—ecclesiastical and otherwise—and to try and approach Government and the Department from the point of view of such reordering of education as will make it possible for the legitimate demands of the various religious communities to be dealt with.

There is one more matter which I wish to deal with. There is a deliberate attempt now being made by certain Ceylon merchants to import Ceylon Copra into Travancore which is going to be very suicidal to Travancore. Steps will have to be taken against individuals who are helping that attempt. On more than one occasion Travancore has suffered by the combination of Bombay merchants and Ceylon merchants with certain anti-social and unpatriotic elements in Travancore. I am giving a warning and I trust that Ceylon Copra will not be brought into Travancore in large

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[President]

quantities thus making the position here much more difficult and the possibility of Copra prices being greatly reduced. There is already an attempt by Ceylon to dump Ceylon Copra in the Bombay market. We are trying very hard to resist that attempt. I trust that nobody in the State will give a helping hand to the business.

Lastly, I shall deal with strikes. I have indicated what I wanted to say yesterday. This Government will be willing to help labour to the utmost possible extent. They have no partiality in favour of capital. Indeed they think the future is with labour more than with capital, but they cannot possibly tolerate, however sponsored, the strikes in Harrisons & Crosfield, the strike in the Tile Factory which is probably in response to or in sympathy with the workers of Harrisons & Crosfield and also the strike that has started in the Cashewnut Factory for the reason that the Proprietor of the Cashewnut Factory did not give some cocoanut oil for smearing over the fingers. There is thus a tremendous population of idle workers who have come out not because of a specific demand having been rejected but because of sympathy with other workers in neighbouring factories. No Government can tolerate that affair, and if it is necessary to proceed against leaders, they will do so. But I am very glad to say that just as in the case of primary education, I have already been approached by some people with a view to a *via media* on this matter. This Government have evinced their desire to help labour by appointing a Labour Commissioner who is acquainted with labour conditions and also two officers to assist him in his work. Government are therefore quite willing to enter into negotiations with labour—not from the point of view of hammer and sickle of the communist programme—but on the merits of the case. I have received a resolution to the effect that on account of the constitutional reforms, the cashewnut workers have struck work. However important the constitutional reforms might be to the cashewnut workers, however much they may be affected by these reforms, this Government cannot possibly consent to the validity or the authenticity of the cashewnut workers striking work without proper reasons being stated by them. So long as there are labour questions which are brought to the front, so long as there are specific demands which can be dealt with by specific labour methods, this Government will befriend labour, but if labour transcends its jurisdiction and starts a strike for illegitimate or extraneous purposes, the whole resources of the State will be brought into operation for the purpose of preventing such a state of things.

The House will now adjourn and meet again at 2-15 P. M.

The House adjourned for lunch at 1-10 P. M.

and re-assembled at 2-15 P. M. with the President in the chair.

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Mr. K. S. Joseph: Sir, I was promised an opportunity to explain. The Dewan-President made as very serious allegation against the State Congress by saying that a few members of the State Congress met the Parliamentary Delegation "clandestinely." That word, was deliberately used.

President: Yes.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I for one could not understand why that word was used; because as I understand it, the Parliamentary Delegation came out to India not as an official Delegation in the strict sense of the word, but as a Delegation to meet the people of India and find out their views so that they might advise Parliament as to which was the best form of Government for India, including the States.

President: No. The Parlimentary Delegation has no right to legislate for the Government of this State. It is entirely a matter for the sovereign of this State. The Parliamentary Delegation had no inherent right to visit the people of the States unless by the courtesy of the States.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I perfectly understand the legality of what the Dewan said. The Parlimentary Delegation has no right to legislate for the Government of Travancore; but in the picture of an India of the future, the State has a place; and in so far as....

President: Only so far as they are willing to take that place and not by being forced by anybody.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: So far as they have any place, and if the British Government were going to adopt an attitude that States were going to become part of Federated India it was certainly necessary for the people of all States to place their views before the Delegation for their consideration. I am not aware of any law that prevents the subjects of Travancore from meeting anybody at any place and place their points of view and discuss about things that they want to. I really do not see the point in having characterised our meeting the Delegation as "clandestine."

I may say whatever views were placed by the State Congress before the Parliamentary Delegation, they were openly said here both in public meetings and in the press.

President: What was stated was a series of personal insinuations and allegations of which I have direct testimony.

Mr. K. S. Joseph: I am talking of the memorandum that was placed before the Delegation and I can speak with authority that anything that was not said on the platform or in the public

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[Mr. K. S. Joseph.]

press was never said in the memorandum. Some delegates might have expressed their private views about any matter. But the memorandum is the official one.

Again the Dewan alleged that whatever we told them was 'exparte.' It is the right of every people that they should be free to express their own views. I don't think that the Parliamentary Delegation came to India to preside over debates or arguments of two sides pitted against each other and to deliver final judgment. They came to India with the idea of meeting as many people as possible, whenever and wherever they could and get their views. So if they welcomed us and heard our views there was nothing extra-ordinary or anything to characterize it as 'exparte.' I would therefore say that those two adjectives used about our delegation were not in the least warranted by the circumstances.

MOTIONS UNDER RULE 66 A FELICITATING HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA.

Mr. T. M. Chidambarathanu Pillai: Sir, நான் ஆங்கிலத்தில் எழுதியிருக்கிற தீர்மானத்தை இந்த சபைமுன் சமர்ப்பித்திருக்கிறேன். அதைப் படிக்கிறேன்:

"This Council begs to place on record its feelings of profound joy on the conferment of the high distinction of G. C. S. I. on His Gracious Highness the Maharaja, by his Majesty the King-Emperor and to convey its loyal and respectful felicitations to His Highness on this occasion."

இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை நீங்கள் ஏகமனதாக ஆமோதித்து, நிறைவேற்றித்தரக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். இத்தீர்மானத்தின்பேரில் ஒன்றிரண்டு வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். நமது திருவாங்கூர் ராஜ்யம், இப்பரதகண்டத்திலுள்ள சுதேச ஸம்ஸ்தானங்களில் வைத்து ஒரு புராதனநாடு. இந்தியசரித்திரத்தில் புகழ்பெற்ற சேர, சோழ, பாண்டிய மன்னர்களில் ஒலிதிறந்த சேரமன்னர்களின் ப்ரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்தது நமது அரசகுலம். சேரமன்னர் சார்பில் இன்றும் நிலைத்து செங்கோல் செலுத்தி வருவது நமது அரசாங்கந்தான். இந்தியாவிலேயே, கல்வியிலும், இன்னும் பல சீர்திருத்தங்களிலும் முன்னேற்றமடைந்திருப்பது நமது திருவாங்கூர் ராஜ்யம் தான் என்பது நான் சொல்லாமலே நீங்கள் அறிந்த விஷயம். இந்தியாவில் சுதேச சம்ஸ்தானாதிபதிகளில் மிகச் சிறந்தவரும், உலகமே போற்றும்படியாக ஒரு திலகமாய் விளங்கும் நமது காருண்ய மஹாராஜா ஸ்ரீசித்திரை மன்னர் காருண்ய வள்ளலாய் அவதாரஞ் செய்து, நீதிநெறி தவறாமல் தமது பிரஜைகளின் க்ஷேமத்திற்காகத் தொண்டுசெய்வது தமது முக்கிய கடமையென்று எண்ணி, நாட்டின் நன்மைக்காக உலகமே மெச்சக்கூடிய பல முற்போக்கு சீர்திருத்தங்களைச் செய்து, அல்லும் பகலும் அனவரதமும் தேசத்துக்காகத் தொண்டு செய்யும் ஆற்றலும், அறிவும் உள்ளவர் என்பது நீங்கள் யாவரும் அறிந்ததுதான். நமது காருண்ய ஸ்ரீசித்திரமன்னர் நமது இந்திய சக்கரவர்த்தி

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